UNITED
NATIONS

A S

General Assembly
Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/272
S/26108
20 July 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: CHINESE/ENGLISH/
FRENCH/SPANISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-eighth session
Items 38, 44, 64, 71, 92 (e), 94, 96
and 101 of the preliminary list*
POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF SOUTH AFRICA
STRENGTHENING OF THE COORDINATION OF
HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
VERIFICATION IN ALL ITS ASPECTS,
INCLUDING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED
NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF VERIFICATION
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
COOPERATION: ENVIRONMENT
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR THE
ERADICATION OF POVERTY IN
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
SPECIAL PROGRAMMES OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 16 July 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of China to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the Final Statement, in Chinese, English, French and Spanish, of the eleventh session of the InterAction Council, held at Shanghai, the People's Republic of China, from 13 to 16 May 1993 (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under items 38, 44, 64, 71, 92 (e), 94, 96 and 101 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Jian
Ambassador
Acting Permanent Representative
of the People's Republic of China
to the United Nations

* A/48/50.

ANNEX

Final Statement of the eleventh session of the InterAction Council, held at Shanghai, China, from 13 to 16 May 1993

The end of the Cold War does not seem to offer a new world order nor does it offer a peace dividend, though there is a dividend in terms of political freedom.

I. CHINA

1. Over the past decade, China pursued policies that dramatically advanced its economic and social development. The legacy of past political and social upheavals has been replaced by a dynamic, growing economy which seeks to reconcile market principles with the tenets of socialism. Standards of living are surging and individual prosperity is picking up, underpinned by a successful agricultural sector and ever more resilient industrial production. This holds the promise of catapulting China into one of the leading economies by the end of the present decade.

2. Yet, the Chinese Government itself recognizes potentially disruptive factors. The InterAction Council is concerned by regionalism and the ensuing disparities especially as they affect the agricultural sector; ecological decay and environmental degradation stemming from unbridled industrialisation which is likely to have global repercussions; the consequences of a centrally planned economy of the past with its emphasis on heavy industries; the overheating of the economy causing inflation which threatens social peace and stability.

3. The emergence of China as a major political, strategic and economic power on the world scene confers on it particular responsibilities, even more pronounced in the wake of the demise of the Soviet Union. China has been liberated from decades of preoccupation and conflicts with its Northern neighbor and is reaping a dividend in foreign political maneouvrability. It is now poised to play a major role in the Pacific area and the world at large. Inspired by self-interest, Chinese policies should seek to bolster peace and stability and to curb the proliferation of nuclear and missile capabilities. On the other hand, the world community must enable China to participate fully in the international financial, commercial and economic system.

II. MEETING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEMISE OF THE SOVIET UNION

4. The breakup of the Soviet Union is arguably the most defining event of the post-war period. It brought more freedom and a realistic chance for democracy. A stable international system based on deterrence has been superseded by a highly volatile and unstable constellation, aggravated by the systemic breakdown in the territories of the former Soviet Union, making room for other kinds of acute or latent conflicts. Stability in the post-cold war world will be tenuous unless stability can be restored in this area.

5. The end of the Cold War is a propitious moment to push for initiatives particularly by the major powers to speed up the process of disarmament, to curb the trade in weapons systems and thereby to lower the present levels of defense spending.

6. Industrialised countries must define a framework for long-term cooperation expressed in a formal agreement to underpin economic development and implement a lasting programme of technical assistance and training, rather than pursuing a succession of showy, but ineffective schemes tied to referenda or elections. The international financial institutions must refocus their attention on their specific mandates. What is called for is a well-managed but selective assistance programme over the next five years to foster trade and access to markets, to impart the rules of international trade, to dismantle nuclear warheads, to upgrade safety standards for nuclear reactors, to tackle severe environmental problems and to reinforce social welfare schemes. For their part, the new states must establish their credentials as predictable players on the world scene, doing away with isolationism and xenophobia and giving equal rights to minorities within their borders.

7. The exclusive focus by Western powers on Russia, disregarding the other new independent states, produces dangerous distortions. This is exacerbated by the extra concern of the West with the fate of individual leaders rather than the circumstances and requirements of countries. Aid given to the successor states of the former Soviet Union should not deprive other countries of their share.

8. By discriminating excessively between Russia and the other new states, international assistance may fuel simmering conflicts among them and might bring them to the fore. Russia's relationship with the other new states may become one of the major foreign policy problems of our time. The rebuilding of Russia must be complemented by programmes for the other states, namely emerging powers like the Ukraine, countries with nuclear weapons on their soil, countries with disaster-prone nuclear power stations or countries confronted by enormous ecological challenges (such as the dying Lake Aral). All the new states must be accorded dignity and allowed to participate fully in the international arena. The forging of new links and cooperative economic mechanisms among them - such as the emerging economic community - which might facilitate this process, should be encouraged.

9. The InterAction Council deplores the international community's inability to prevent the spiral of deadly violence, cruelty and human misery in some parts of the former Yugoslavia, following the demise of the Soviet Union. The Council urges the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations to initiate decisive measures to rid Europe of this conflict. Conventional warfare, accompanied by the utter disregard for human rights and dignity, must be stopped forthwith. Otherwise, the cancer of national conflict may spread and endanger Europe's stability. The InterAction Council supports a political solution to the crisis on the basis of the different proposals presently on the table. The Council calls on the European Community, Russia and the United States to convene a conference of all states in the region to conclude a binding treaty on security, the guarantee of borders, the protection of national minorities and economic cooperation, backed up by effective enforcement provisions.

10. The Korean peninsula is also feeling the repercussions of the Soviet Union's disintegration. The fact that North Korea did not accept the inspection under the safeguards regime of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and its subsequent notification of withdrawal from the NPT makes it run the risk of further international isolation. The InterAction Council urges North Korea to reconsider its position and to rejoin the NPT. At the same time North Korea is sliding into ever deeper economic difficulties. The possibility of Korean reunification can no longer be excluded. The InterAction Council fully supports the report submitted by Mr. Helmut Schmidt on the results of a High-level Group[1] he chaired on "The Lessons of the German Unification Process for Korea" and commends it to the attention of the two Korean states, China, Japan, Russia, the United States, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the expatriate Korean community.

11. The demise of the Soviet Union has given a new impetus to the welcome spread of democracy and human rights throughout the world and this progress must continue. At the same time, the notion of national identity - mediated by culture and in many places formed over centuries - has resurfaced and proves to be the dominant binding force. We see multi-ethnic states breaking apart under the pressure of national movements, economic decay and social disintegration. Aspirations for national identity are

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[1] In addition to Mr. Schmidt, the following members of the InterAction Council participated in the meeting: Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal) and Shin Hyon-Hwak (Republic of Korea) as well as the following high-level personalities: Kyong-Shik Kang (Republic of Korea), Hans-Joachim Langmann (Germany), Emile van Lennep (Netherlands), Hans Matthoefer (Germany), Meinhard Miegel (Germany), Wilhelm Noelling (Germany), Seung-Keun Rhee (Republic of Korea), Sang-Woo Rhee (Republic of Korea), Susanne M. Schmidt (Germany), Richard Schroeder (Germany), Peter Schulz (Germany), Horst Siebert (Germany), Ha-Cheon Yeon (Republic of Korea) and Vadim Zagladin (Russia).

unquestionably legitimate and can prove a positive element of political and social stabilization. However, these aspirations threaten to turn into a destructive and retrograde nationalism if they cannot coexist with the equally legitimate identities of national minorities and if they are elevated into a right to claim ethnically clean nation states. National identity in its proper sense calls for political pluralism and national, social and religious tolerance, not for political fragmentation and ethnic enmity. Furthermore, the surge of fundamentalisms of different types endangers peace and encourages intolerance, violence and hatred.

12. The end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union has freed many parts of the world from the effects of the ideological confrontation between the superpowers which took the form of violence, guerilla warfare and support for authoritarian regimes, such as in Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East and parts of Asia. The InterAction Council welcomes the evolution towards democracy, the settlement of some internal conflicts and the opportunity for countries to concentrate their energies on economic growth and the eradication of poverty. In addition, a more equitable involvement of the developing countries in the international system should be facilitated to overcome their present marginalisation.

13. The InterAction Council calls on the international community to begin the process of rehabilitating those nations most severely affected by the former East-West confrontation, such as Lebanon, Central America and Angola. Angola should be accorded diplomatic recognition by all countries. The Council also calls on the United States Administration and, in particular, the United States Congress to adopt a more flexible attitude by engaging in dialogue with Cuba.

14. Developing countries suffer from the burden of debt servicing and lack favorable conditions for trade, resource flows and the transfer of appropriate technologies. In 1992, the InterAction Council had specifically focused on the situation in Latin America and this year the Council chose to concentrate on Africa.

III. BRINGING AFRICA BACK TO THE MAINSTREAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

15. The end of the Cold War also affords an opportunity to focus on Africa. Africa's present marginalisation is morally unacceptable, politically short-sighted and economically unrewarding. In this regard the InterAction Council unequivocally endorses the report submitted by Lord Callaghan of Cardiff on the results of a High-level Group[2] on "Bringing Africa Back to the Mainstream of the International System" and urges its widespread dissemination.

16. Africa is not a lost cause. While there have been success stories during the 1960s and 1970s, recent success stories can be found in Benin, Botswana and Mauritius. Africans themselves stress the linkages between democracy and sustained economic development. Yet, democracy is fragile and must be bolstered. Within Africa this requires the strengthening of governmental structures and the rule of law, the creation of a favourable fiscal and taxation climate, and high levels of education, training and private

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[2] In addition to Lord Callaghan the following members of the InterAction Council participated in the meeting: Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento (Angola), Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria); as well as the following high-level personalities Alex Boraine (South Africa), Karen Brutenz (Russia), Pierre-Claver Damiba (Burkina Faso), Francis Deng (Sudan), Marion Graefin Doenhoff (Germany), Barend du Plessis (South Africa), Louis Emmerij (Netherlands), Adrian Hewitt (United Kingdom), Mostafa Khalil (Egypt), Colin Legum (United Kingdom), Daniel M. Lisulo (Zambia), Graca Machel (Mozambique), Robert McNamara (United States of America), Nthatho Motlana (South Africa), Olara Otunnu (Uganda), Ahmedou Ould Abdallah (Mauritania), Roy A. Pitchford (Zimbabwe), Ronald W. Roskens (United States of America), Fred Sai (Ghana), Tim Thahane (Lesotho), Makoto Watanabe (Japan) and as invited journalist Richard Steyn (South Africa).

savings, which will in turn attract higher levels of private investment. Africans recognize that their commitment to self-help is essential for success. In particular, an internal market for energy supplies, water and transportation should be developed and military expenditures substantially reduced. The international community must live up to its declarations on debt relief. The World Bank and IMF must adopt special measures to reduce debt owed to them. Even more important will be the opening of markets in the North, the ratification of GATT and the creation of a fair trading regime.

17. The education and empowerment of women will, among other benefits, assist in the necessary reduction of Africa's high fertility rate. Family planning must be given priority in development assistance by promoting contraceptive methods and mechanisms, including medical research.

18. Today Africa, with 10 percent of the world's population has 60 to 70 percent of global AIDS cases, a figure estimated to double this decade. If we are to avoid widespread social distress by the year 2000, there must be a massive programme of condom subsidisation.

19. To avoid a slide into more Somalias, conflict resolution and prevention must engage the prompt and joint attention of the United Nations and regional organisations. It is desirable that for the future the international community develops principles governing intervention for humanitarian relief. In Angola, democracy to which the United Nations and its agencies have contributed substantial resources, must be made to take root and grow.

20. The North cannot isolate itself from the problems of Africa. There is a clear rationale for the industrialised countries to extend their discussions to cover African issues. To this end, the amount, direction and specific conditionality of African development assistance and resource flows should be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming G-7 summit in Tokyo.

21. South Africa stands on the threshold of historic change. Multiparty negotiations should be completed and elections held at the earliest possible date to form a Government of national unity. The hitherto deprived black majority will expect immediate benefits in schooling, housing, jobs and wages. Without a substantial increase in growth, these cannot be delivered. External finance both from private and concessional sources will be indispensable.

IV. WORLD TRADE

22. The world economy is improving modestly at best. A bright spot has been the dynamic economic performance in East Asia, due to continued high savings rates and China's emerging role as an engine of growth. The industrialised countries are increasingly resorting to various forms of protectionist measures. The trend towards tri-polar economic regionalism - European Community, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the emerging East Asian economic area - must not endanger the already fragile basis for free and open trade, further marginalizing the countries outside these three regions. The principles of international cooperation and multilateral mechanisms must be defended. They remain the best means of securing economic growth and global prosperity.

23. A last ditch effort must be made to rescue the multilateral trading system by concluding the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). But even if GATT succeeds, regional trading blocs will remain. The global regime and the regional structures must be harmonised.

V. POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT

24. The problems of population growth, global environment, resources, poverty and mass migration are interlinked. Particularly important and most difficult to cope with is the problem of population growth. Governments must recognize that curbing population growth is the most crucial task facing world politics in the new age and must expedite measures to deal with it. Governments must therefore demonstrate their willingness and determination to take national and international steps to meet this daunting challenge at the 1994 United Nations Conference on Population in Cairo.

25. It was with hope and expectation that the world community welcomed last year's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. In fact, this first global summit meeting on environment and development helped to create a global constituency for environmental action and reinforced action by non-governmental organisations (NGO) and the private sector. One year later, however, governments remain reluctant to take action despite their commitments. Such inertia further erodes the public's belief in their governments' willingness to lead and their capacity to act. The InterAction Council urges all signatories of the Rio agreements to honor their commitments concerning environmental protection and the provision of financial resources and to take immediate action.

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The following participated in the session:

I. Members of the InterAction Council
1. Helmut Schmidt (Germany) - Chairman
2. Takeo Fukuda (Japan) - Honorary Chairman
3. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal) - Deputy Chairperson
4. Raul Alfonsin (Argentina)
5. Kirti Nidhi Bista (Nepal)
6. Lord Callaghan of Cardiff (United Kingdom)
7. Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado (Mexico)
8. Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento (Angola)
9. Jenoe Fock (Hungary)
10. Malcolm Fraser (Australia)
11. Valery Giscard d'Estaing (France)
12. Salim El Hoss (Lebanon)
13. Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia)
14. Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore)
15. Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria)
16. Misael Pastrana Borrero (Colombia)
17. Mitja Ribicic (Slovenia)
18. Jose Sarney (Brazil)
19. Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Canada)
20. Ola Ullsten (Sweden)

II. Special Guests
1. Karen N. Brutens (Russia)
2. He Guanghui (China)
3. Huang Hua (China)
4. Huang Ju (China)
5. Henry A. Kissinger (United States of America)
6. William P. Laughlin (United States of America)

7. Emile van Lennep (Netherlands)
8. Robert S. McNamara (United States of America)
9. Isamu Miyazaki (Japan)
10. Taro Nakayama (Japan)
11. Kazimiera Prunskiene (Lithuania)
12. Ronald W. Roskens (United States of America)
13. Shin Hyon-Hwak (Republic of Korea)
14. Seiken Sugiura (Japan)
15. Hans-Jochen Vogel (Germany)

III. Invited Journalists

1. Nagaharu Hayabusa (Japan) - Asahi
2. Flora Lewis (United States) - The New York Times
3. Laurent Mossu (France) - Le Figaro
4. Qian Wenrong (China) - Xinhua News Agency
5. Martin Woollacott (United Kingdom) - The Guardian

IV. Guest Observers

1. Henry O. Dormann (United States of America)
2. Susanne Schmidt (Germany)
3. John Whitehead (United States of America)

V. Senior Staff

1. Hans d'Orville
2. Dragoljub Najman
3. Jens Fischer
4. Keiko Atsumi
5. Caroline Anstey

UNITED
NATIONS

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General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/273
21 July 1993
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

Forty-eighth session
Item 115 of the preliminary list*

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS

Letter dated 19 July 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Peru to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the statement made on 14 June 1993 by Dr. Fernando Vega Santa Gadea, Minister of Justice and head of the delegation of the Republic of Peru, at the second World Conference on Human Rights, held at Vienna.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under item 115 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Fernando GUILLÉN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Peru
to the United Nations

* A/48/50.

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Annex

Statement made on 14 June 1993 by Dr. Fernando Vega Santa Gadea, Minister of Justice and head of the delegation of Peru, at the World Conference on Human Rights, held at Vienna

It is a pleasure for me to bring greetings from the Government and people of Peru to Austria, the country which is hosting this event with its traditional hospitality and courtesy, and to all States attending this Conference, held under the auspices of the United Nations. The participation in these deliberations of such distinguished representatives reflects the importance which the world attaches to the search for peace, justice, development and respect for human dignity.

The first World Conference on Human Rights, held in 1968 to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, assessed the progress made up to then. On that occasion, a large group of new States joined the free nations of the world, and their tremendous cultural wealth expanded international awareness of humanitarian issues.

Twenty-five years after the Proclamation of Teheran, world history, which has taken on a dizzying momentum in recent years, calls for a reassessment, so that, together, we peace-loving peoples can undertake efforts to ensure the survival of mankind through a joint struggle to eradicate violence and extreme poverty.

We have gathered on this occasion to assess what, specifically, we have done up to now to overcome the obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights and to reactivate international cooperation so as to strengthen the indissoluble link between human rights and development.

Only half of the world's nations have signed and ratified the two Covenants which confer responsibility for the principles embodied in the Declaration, and the urgent task of giving universal scope to the work of the United Nations monitoring mechanisms remains to be completed.

Serious consideration must be given to the ever more pressing need to find a solution to the violence of armed conflicts, terrorism, drug trafficking, racial intolerance, neo-Nazi groups and xenophobic movements, which appear to be global features of the start of the new world order.

In this context, Peru reiterates that the best starting-point would be a careful review of the results of regional meetings, which should be regarded as priority working documents.

Repeatedly, the Government of Peru, through the President of the Republic, and through our Minister for Foreign Affairs in various international forums, has stated clearly that the Government attaches priority to bringing peace to the country within the framework of absolute respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The thrust of this national policy has been fully consistent with the provisions of the Political Constitution of Peru and the commitments entered into by the Peruvian State through the signing and ratification of the major international instruments for the defence and promotion of human rights.

The delegation of Peru wishes to emphasize that the depoliticization of the topic would preserve and increase international capacity for persuasion, cooperation and dialogue in order to safeguard human rights. In addition, strict adherence to monitoring and enforcement procedures is the best guarantee of the legitimacy of our efforts.

As part of these procedures, objectivity and a responsible approach to identifying complaints and eliminating cases which have already been resolved, thus shortening the list of alleged violations by previous administrations, constitute, in our view, minimum impartiality, and not a statement of position. Diagnostic errors on the part of technical experts, who are totally removed from the distressing realities which are oppressing our peoples, are another source of comments or warnings or even condemnations addressed to our Governments. We can accept criticism, and are capable of redressment, so long as it is proved to us, by well-informed persons at the scene of the events, that human rights violations have occurred, or that our anti-terrorist legislation is defective from the standpoint of due-process guarantees.

An integral and universally acceptable concept of human rights is at an advanced stage of crystallization. The indivisibility of civil and political rights and of economic, social and cultural rights depends directly on avoiding giving priority to one category at the expense of the other. The experience of Governments in their efforts to ensure the enjoyment of these rights depends on the development capabilities of countries and on the will of Governments themselves to make human dignity their final aim.

The evolution of humanitarian awareness still faces difficulties. The right to development is now universally recognized, but we must take it upon ourselves to make the relevant instruments a reality, so as to ensure their implementation.

Peru believes it essential to consider, in this assembly, the need to adapt the current human rights doctrine of the United Nations to reflect the changes which have occurred in the past 25 years. A new dimension should be added to the international approach to human rights, taking into account the true magnitude of the violence of terrorism and drug trafficking, and the need to adopt international measures of condemnation with a view to their suppression and punishment.

While the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has been a pioneer in the inclusion of that dimension and while the Peruvian initiative put forward at Geneva in 1992 was adopted without a vote at the Commission's February 1993 session, we would urge the United Nations to undertake an immediate effort, which will be effective only to the extent that it can be preventive and is not limited to witnessing, helplessly, the national tragedies caused by terrorism.

Reports in the world press indicate how the number of States facing the combined onslaught of violence from terrorism and from drug trafficking is

growing dangerously, and on how those States are implementing, with varying results, a whole strategy intended to combat these plagues on the basis of their own realities, so as to ensure their own survival and the protection of completely innocent potential victims.

Peru is fighting terrorism and its natural ally, drug trafficking. The loss of 25,000 lives has plunged the Peruvian people into mourning. Accordingly, we condemn the dehumanizing violence of terrorism and share others' sorrow at the bomb attacks on the Buenos Aires synagogue, the New York World Trade Center and the London Financial Centre, as well as the recent attack in Florence, which caused death and devastation and irreparably destroyed part of the cultural heritage of mankind. Our country has directly experienced the ferocity of these car-bomb attacks, resulting in scores of deaths, hundreds of injuries and tremendous material losses. Our solidarity is based on shared sorrow and deep familiarity with the problem of terrorism, which has been afflicting our country for over a decade.

The observance, this year, of the forty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights coincides with the initial results of the Peruvian Government's basic plan to eradicate terrorism and to make Peru a country at peace for future generations.

Until 5 April 1992, the world did not clearly comprehend the ominous danger threatening the Peruvian people or realize that spiralling terrorist violence and its aftermath of corruption had fatally undermined the State.

Attacks with explosives that destroyed commercial centres and multi-family apartment buildings, car bombs and the deaths of innocent children who were used to carry bombs were the subject of headlines and full-page stories in all the national newspapers: infernal scenes, similar to or worse than the catastrophe in Florence, were experienced daily in Peru. The country had been mortally wounded, and the survival of the people, who had lost hope under earlier, impotent Governments that had been incapable of taking action, was hanging in the balance.

The Government of President Fujimori faced an inescapable obligation to guarantee the viability of the State. Had he not taken action, nothing would have prevented a genocidal terrorist movement compatible to that led by Pol Pot from exterminating a million Peruvians, an aim publicly proclaimed by its secret spokesman, even in articles reproduced by the most prestigious publications of this continent.

Had the Government hesitated a few days in adopting its historic decision to take the initiative in the struggle to save Peru, abandoning the outdated and obsolete structure which, as is recognized today, was ineffectual, Peru would have become an anachronistic State, totalitarian, communist, and genocidal, that would have spread its pathological violence throughout Latin America.

The distorted, supposedly ethical and moral, principles of the terrorist leaders have been published and widely disseminated in Europe and, in the guise of libertarian theory, the world has been exposed to terrorism's apocalyptic pronouncements, its condemnation of human rights and its utter scorn for the work of the Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations system.

Moreover, the doctrine of international law provides for the legitimate right of States to guarantee their survival, and instruments relating to fundamental human rights accept the adoption of exceptional measures in such extreme cases.

Unfortunately, Peru, like other democratic countries of the world, was also ravaged by structural corruption. Against that background, the Government undertook a profound overhaul of the judiciary intended essentially to put an end to the corruption and paralysis which had led to the release of hundreds of terrorist criminals detained in 1990 and 1991, allowing them to continue their demented criminal rampage involving selective assaults and assassinations. Only some 10 cases were brought to trial, compared with hundreds of other detainees who were in custody awaiting conviction or release for "lack of evidence".

At the same time, an obsolete penal system failed to take into account new types of crime. This omission has now been rectified and Peru's anti-terrorism legislation includes all modalities and agents appropriate to the emergency situation in which the country has been plunged, thereby allowing for the effective coordination of the activities of the responsible police and military bodies. The new anti-terrorism policy has now produced a clear result: an operation completed without bloodshed - the details of which were reported throughout the world - led to the capture of the leader of the Sendero Luminoso terrorist movement and the top echelon of this genocidal gang.

Abimael Guzmán - the terrorist who, openly scornful of the value of human life and human dignity, is responsible for the genocide in Peru which claimed 25,000 lives and occasioned $22 billion in material losses, the equivalent of Peru's entire external debt - is now being treated humanely in a maximum-security prison, as has recently been confirmed by official representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. However, he will never again be a free man, for he has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

Since 5 April 1992, more than 2,400 terrorists belonging to Sendero Luminoso and the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru have been captured. Ninety per cent of the top echelon of the two groups are in prison, and 110 of them have also been sentenced to life imprisonment owing to the gravity of their crimes.

The apparent severity of the anti-terrorism legislation which has been adopted is directly related to the emergency situation in which the terrorist movements plunged Peru. The results accomplished by the current Government are easily contrasted with the actions of earlier Governments. Peru is undergoing a pacification process, and the harshness of the law will change as the terrorist problem subsides. The Repentance Act illustrates clearly how Peru deals with deserting terrorists who wish to rejoin society. Conditions at Peru's new or remodelled penal institutions show respect for the human rights of imprisoned terrorists.

The President of Peru has stated that he will rid the country of terrorism by 1995. This message of hope - one never before extended to the Peruvian people - is a government objective whose attainment will coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, for which it will represent a new milestone on the road to peace.

The elections to the Constituent Democratic Congress, which were monitored by the Organization of American States (OAS), restored the balance of powers in Peru. With the validity of the Political Constitution fully restored, the parliament can now adopt legislation as well as conduct investigations, as witness its current investigation into the case of students at the Universidad de la Cantuta.

The Permanent Council of OAS has condemned the terrorist violence in Peru and has described as genocide the selective annihilations and thousands of murders carried out by deranged perpetrators. This condemnation by a competent regional body should prompt support from the United Nations system pursuant to the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948.

Many Peruvian inhabitants of the Andes courageously remained in their villages despite the terror and organized themselves for their own defence in rural patrols, which were key allies of the armed forces; however, another 600,000 Peruvians fled from their homes, becoming internally displaced by the terrorist violence, and they live in extreme poverty in the slums of Lima. However - and this is a positive sign - there are indications that they would like to return to their abandoned villages. This will require a massive economic effort which the Government has already initiated.

Humanitarian assistance for internally displaced persons is needed immediately. Peru issued an appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stressing that immediate cooperation measures are needed to support national efforts, while the system strove to define political and legal criteria for dealing with internally displaced persons.

I should like to express my Government's gratitude for the immediate response to its appeal, which has opened the way for inter-agency cooperation to develop the diagnosis of the problem made by the Government and to launch a humanitarian assistance project.

Other important gestures of solidarity have been made. The Governments of the countries most closely concerned have indicated that they will be more circumspect in granting asylum to terrorists, in order to prevent their territories from becoming a breeding ground for genocide, where perpetrators are not entitled to claim the right of asylum or to make public collections to finance their crimes from abroad.

I also wish to focus briefly on the most significant concrete measures taken by the Government to promote human rights:

1. As part of its policy of cooperating with the international organizations responsible for monitoring human rights, the Peruvian Government invites them to visit the country and to witness freely and at first hand:

The fundamental role of terrorism in causing violence and human rights violations in Peru,

The measures taken by the Government to promote human rights.

In this connection, a special committee of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights was invited to visit the country and examined the human rights situation there at first hand from 17 to 20 May. The press release which it issued as a prelude to its official report has been distributed to all delegations at the World Conference to provide them with an objective and independent analysis of the situation in Peru following the adoption of the new government policy. It recognizes the significant progress in prisons policy and the recommendations we are willing to take into account in applying the appropriate corrective measures.

Furthermore, the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Execution of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights visited Peru from 24 May to 3 June.

2. The national register of prisoners, a project financed by AID and ILANUD and aimed at ensuring that the rule of law prevails during this historic and exceptional period of anti-terrorist struggle, is now in its first phase of implementation. The Public Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of the Interior hope that it will be open for consultation by human rights monitoring bodies and non-governmental organizations by July 1993.

3. The Government of Peru has signed a procedural agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). This was made possible by the exclusive undertaking given concerning the humanitarian activities of ICRC, which is proving to be highly satisfactory. ICRC has absolute freedom to visit all prisons and detention centres in the country. Any interested organization or person can obtain free access to its reports on any specific case.

4. After 30 years of neglecting the physical infrastructure of prisons, a new policy is introducing sweeping changes and compelling the authorities to provide better prison conditions and thus to respect prisoners' basic rights. The aim of this new prisons policy, whose effectiveness has been acknowledged by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, is to replace 108 old prisons with 50 modern prisons by 1995. One new prison has already been opened, two are under construction and a further eight are being re-built.

5. The establishment of a permanent dialogue with the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos, a non-governmental organization, has been welcomed at the international level as tangible evidence of democratic openness and will make it possible to identify mechanisms and procedures for joint action to promote respect for human rights.

6. Human rights education forms part of a major preventive programme and courses have been introduced in the syllabuses of schools and of all armed

forces and police academic institutions at the national level. The subject has also been included in army instruction manuals.

7. The Government is determined to ensure minimum living standards, basic health care, education and proper working conditions for the nation as a whole.

8. The overall result of these efforts is that the number of complaints submitted during the current year has shown an encouraging and consistent pattern of sharp decline, reflecting the tangible efforts made by the Government.

The good will of a country is shown not by declarations of intent but by concrete actions. Once again I invite the competent supervisory bodies of the United Nations system to visit the country and witness the human rights situation at first hand.

The Peruvian Government accepts the recommendations, suggestions and constructive criticism and is willing to correct any aspects of its policies which, in the context of the exceptional situation prevailing in the country, can be dealt with immediately through dialogue and cooperation with the United Nations within the framework of the specific technical competence of the human rights monitoring bodies of the system. However, it is not prepared to see the question distorted by biased or malicious information from opposition sources or subversive elements. Let me therefore say again that Peru is open to United Nations bodies which wish to visit it in connection with this matter.

I wish to thank the Centre for Human Rights for its support in organizing this event and to express my particular gratitude for the efforts of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies. I also wish to express gratitude to the former Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and to the current Secretary-General for all they have done to ensure the success of this summit meeting on human rights, as well as for their efforts to eradicate poverty and their lifelong commitment to the defence of human rights.

UNITED
NATIONS

A S

General Assembly
Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/48/274
S/26125
20 July 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-eighth session
Item 115 (c) of the preliminary list*
HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS
SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL
RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 20 July 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith a reply from the Government of the Republic of Croatia (see annex) to the charges made in the document entitled "Memorandum on the violation of human rights in the Serb community of Gorski Kotar in the Republic of Croatia", which was contained in the annex to a letter dated 24 May 1993 addressed to you by the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations and circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council (A/48/176-S/25834, annex).

I would be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 115 (c) of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mario NOBILO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* A/48/50.

ANNEX

Reply of the Government of Croatia to the document entitled "Memorandum on the violation of human rights in the Serb community of Gorski Kotar in the Republic of Croatia", contained in the annex to document A/48/176-S/25834

The "Memorandum on the Violations of Human Rights in the Serb Community of Gorski Kotar in the Republic of Croatia" which was deposited with the "Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes and Genocide" and submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council by the Charge d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations contains false statements and half-truths as well as dubious assertions and incorrect demographic claims. Its intent is to create a false perception of the behavior of the Croatian Government towards the Serbian minority living within the Republic of Croatia.

The claims that the Serbian minority in the Croatian region of Gorski Kotar is endangered and that, therefore, the region should be incorporated into the so-called pink zones under UN protection, is simply a veiled call for separating this region, which has a Croat majority, from the Republic of Croatia and placing it under Serbian occupation. Such calls can only be seen as preludes to attempts at territorial conquest and a threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia.

Contrary to claims made in the above-mentioned Memorandum, there has never been any economic, traffic, or information blockade of the area in question. The flow of people and goods is free for both Serbs and Croats. The allegations that the position of Serbs in the area has deteriorated, since the departure of the Rijeka Corps of the ex-Yugoslav Army, are false. The truth is that back in June 1991, the same Army gave weapons to the Serbs for "self-protection". As witnessed by the Vrbovsko Agreement, no ultimatum for the surrender of arms under duress was delivered to the Serbian population.

Also untrue are allegations of the arrest of Serbs in the area, infliction of damage to their property, let alone killings or expulsions. The fact that some Serbs or Serbian families have decided of their own free will to leave for the so-called Krajina or the Republic of Serbia is perfidiously described as forced departures.

Further slandering of Croatian authorities and some members of the Croatian leadership is committed by allegations of forced mobilization of Serbs, renaming of places with sizeable Serbian population, prevention of Serbian children from attending school, complete annihilation of Serbian villages and the like. After all, the representatives of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission, who visited the area last year, as well as a number of other representatives of international humanitarian organizations, who inspected the area of Vrbovsko, Ogulin and Otocac, could see for themselves how false these or similar allegations are.

To give a better idea of what the situation in Gorski Kotar is really like, below are some facts related to the developments referred to in the Memorandum forwarded to the UN Security Council on 23 May 1993, by the Yugoslav Charge d'affaires to the UN.

- Ogulin district comprises the greater part of the valley of Ogulin and Plasce, which, together with Gorski Kotar and Lika, make up the region of the Croatian Highlands. According to the 1991 census, the population of these areas consisted of 29,095 inhabitants scattered in 82 settlements(17,966 Croats - 56.9%, 10,200 Serbs - 32.8% and others). The share of the Serbian population in Vrbovsko district is 35%, mostly in the places of Gomirje and Srpske Moravice.

- The aggression against Croatia has obliterated virtually all traces of Saborsko together with the villages of Borik, Tuk, Varos, Brdine, Funtana, Biljevina, Lug, Kuselj and Corkova Uvala, where 329 family houses and farmhouses were burned down or demolished and the local population cruelly murdered or expelled. According to the 1991 census, Saborsko had 852 inhabitants (800 Croats, 18 Serbs, 5 Yugoslavs and 29 nationally undeclared); the villages of Josipdol and Modrus, Pavlizi, Cerovnik, Turkalji. Modruski Sabljaci, Mateskovici and others have been razed to the ground. The expelled villagers were subsequently given shelter in the area of the previous Ogulin District.

- Before attacking Croatia, the ex-Yugoslav army distributed weapons and ammunition to the Serbian population in the area. According to the information obtained in the field, the local Serbs received about 1,600 barrels (82 and 102 mm mortars) and were the first to put up village sentinel posts and barricades on the access roads to their villages. Following the Jasenak agreement of 10 July 1992, the Serbs returned 114 pieces of armament from Jasenak and Dreznica, 5 from Brestovac, 9 from Muslinski Potok, 6 from Vitunj, totalling 134 pieces of armament plus 4,301 bullets. The same agreed surrender of weapons took place in other local communities, alhough the entire quantity of weapons which had been distributed by the ex-Yugoslav Army has not been returned to Croatian authorities.

- Since the beginning of the armed conflicts, five young men of Serbian nationality from this area were called to service in the Croatian Army and all of them responded favorably. As part of the mobilization, in early August 1992, for the 143rd Ogulin Brigade, 31 citizens of Serbian nationality were requested to make their vans available. Nine of them complied, whereas others stated in writing that their vehicles were defective.

- After the influx of about 700,000 refugees and displaced persons to Croatia, a need arose to open the "Bjelolasica" Recreational Center in Jasenak for their accommodation. No ultimatum was given to the Jasenak villagers by the Ogulin authorities. The truth is that the Serbs from Jasenak wanted to show their loyalty to the Croatian state. The result was that the Center received 661 displaced persons from Croatia in May 1992. Their present number is 552. It should be noted that no spectacle was made of their arrival in Jasenak and that no TV-crews were sent there on that occasion. It is also not true that the Serbs provided shelter to them, because all of them were accommodated in the "Bjelolasica" Recreational Center.

- At the meeting held on 28 May 1992, at Dreznica, attended by Mr. Josip Boljkovac, there was no mention of any listing of Serbian men, potential conscripts, aged 16 to 60, as alleged in the Memorandum. Nor does Mr. Boljkovac perform the duty attributed to him.

- Similarly false is the allegation that two villages, Gornje Dubrave and Donje Dubrave, were renamed on 15 July 1992, to Gornji Tounj and Donji Tounj. According to the 1991 census, Gornje Dubrave had 15 and Donje Dubrave 207 inhabitants, therefore, claiming that 500 to 800 elderly Serbs live in these villages is not true. Also untrue is that, on 5 September 1992, the place of Srpske Moravice was renamed. This could easily be checked by viewing official documents.

- In compliance with the agreements and requests by the representatives of Dreznica, Jasenak, M. Potok, and Bjelsko and in the interest of the local Serbs who asked for protection against extremist Serbian individuals, the Jasenak Police Station was formed and still operates (14 Croatian and 11 Serbian officers).

- Following the administrative reorganization, the city of Ogulin comprises the local communities of Dreznica, Jasenak, M. Potok, Brestovac, Vitunj, and Ponikve and the Josipdol district comprises the area of Gornje Dubrave and Donje Dubrave.

- The Memorandum also spreads false information when it says that no Serb from the "Serbian enclave" in Gorski Kotar holds a public post. The fact is that the Ogulin police station, municipal administration and hospital alone employ more than 160 citizens of Serbian nationality.

- While it is generally known among the Croats and Serbs living in the area of Ogulin that the Ogulin hospital treats their patients of all nationalities equally, it should be noted that all chief doctors there (surgeons, X-ray specialist, gynecologist, psychiatrist, etc.) are Serbs.

- The allegation that 300 Croats have recently settled in the area of Jasenak is a fabrication because no Croat has come to live in that area since the beginning of armed conflict.

- On 17 November 1992, 12 members of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) from Josipdol were brought for questioning to the Ogulin police station, suspected of possessing arms received from the ex-Yugoslav Army and organizing armed rebellion designed to annex Josipdol to Plaski. During a break in the questioning procedure, they were held on the restaurant premises of Ogulin police station. Mladen Puskaric burst in uninvited, opened machine-gun fire on them and killed Bozo Mandic and Dusan Plecas and mortally wounded Nikola Papic who later died in the hospital. The special unit guards who kept the men in custody prevented Puskaric from continuing the slaughter. For this grave crime, Puskaric was sentenced to an imprisonment of eight years.

- It should be pointed out that the Orthodox religious service in this area is practiced in a normal and free manner and that, consequently, the allegation about a prohibition to celebrate the Serbian religious holiday of St. Sava is a lie. This can be corroborated by the fact that two Orthodox priests are resident in the Vrbovsko area and that they regularly perform their religious duties and enjoy all rights as citizens of the Republic of Croatia (documents on citizenship, passports, driving licenses, etc.)

- A significant role in the Memorandum is given to the documentation of Ljubica Carevic from Srpske Moravice regarding her application for obtaining personal documents. The respective file at the Ministry of the Interior shows that the procedure was conducted in accordance with current regulations. The allegations that Ljubica Carevic and her family were harassed and thus forced to leave Srpske Moravice are entirely false, because as early as August 1991, they left Croatia of their own free will and settled in Serbia.